3: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1910 FL12 Masai FL12

Besides the power of a maternal uncle to stop a fight, he has also the right to take anything which belongs to his nephew. If the uncle desires anything that is the property of his nephew's father, the nephew must buy it from his father, who will at once give it up when he knows for whom it is required. This power of taking property is reciprocal, and in fact applies to all persons who address one another as *ol-apu*, *ol-le-'ng-apu*, etc. A nephew, for instance, can go to his maternal uncle's kraal, and if his uncle is absent, he can slaughter a goat or drink his uncle's milk, and nothing would be said. He cannot, however, drive off a cow without his uncle's sanction, but permission would not be refused. Other relatives have likewise some power of taking property. A boy or man can go to his father's or paternal uncle's kraal and take or demand a goat or milk, and in all probability nothing would be said, but if it were done repeatedly the father or uncle would express dissatisfaction or refuse altogether. A man may also go to his sister's husband or wife's brother (*ol-aputani*) and take anything, but an account is kept and the debt has to be returned. If a man is poor it is customary for him to live with one of his brothers-in-law (*ol-aputani*) and help to look after the stock. He is fed for his trouble, and as payment receives one out of every pair of twin goats born.

First cousins and second cousins may not marry, but there is no objection to third cousins marrying if the relationship is no nearer than *ol-le-'sitwa* (or *en-e-'sitwa*). Thus, a man's son's son's son may not marry the man's brother's son's son's daughter, nor may a man's son's son's son marry the sister's son's son's daughter, but there would be no objection to a man's son's son's son marrying the brother's daughter's daughter's daughter or the sister's daughter's daughter's daughter's daughter. Likewise though a man's son's son may not marry the man's maternal uncle's son's son's daughter, he may marry the maternal uncle's son's daughter's daughter. These unions are always contingent on the two parties not belonging to the same sub-clan.[1] The rules of consanguinity and affinity which regulate marriage also apply to the sexual intercourse of warriors with immature girls before marriage and to the rights of hospitality after marriage. No warrior may select as his

[1] The Masai are divided into five clans: *Il-Aiser*, *Il-Molgwana*, *Il-Molusen*, *Il-Moldyan*, and *Il-Tarturo*. Each clan is again divided into sub-clans, *e.g.*, the *Il-Aiser* contain amongst others the following: *Iu-gidolgi* and *Il-Purkenti*. No man belonging to the *Iu-gidolgi* sub-clan may take as wife the daughter of a man of the same sub-clan, but he may marry the daughter of the *Il-Purkenti* or he may marry a daughter of the *Il-Molgwana*, *Il-Molusen*, *Il-Moldyan*, or *Il-Tarturo* clans. Members of the various sub-clans are usually to be found in all the districts and sub-districts. Marriages are not affected by geographical considerations, and a man has the same lawful marital relations in all the sub-districts as he has in his own home sub-district.

In his recent book, *The Ethnology of the A-Kamba and other East African Tribes* (Cambridge, 1910), Hobley states (p. 121) that the restrictions governing marriage amongst the Masai are far from simple, and he gives a number of complicated instances. As a matter of fact the rules are quite simple if one remembers (i) that though the clans are not exogamous, the sub-clans into which the clans are divided are exogamous; and (ii) that no man may marry a nearer relation than a third cousin, and then only if the terms of address used are *ol-le-'sitwa* and *en-e-'sitwa*.

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593 already been discussed elsewhere (1).

1. Cf. 2nd Part, II, IV, XX.

All disputes arising in this connection are settled by the head of the family without formal procedure.

421 The property rights are little developed. There are no provisions with reference to landed property. The pasture land of the district is the common property of all its inhabitants. The plains are so large that there is more than enough pasture for everyone's herds. Property belongs to a single individual, not to the family jointly.

• 425 A lost article, if the loser lives in the vicinity and is known, will be returned for a reward (for example, for a spear that has been found, a small goat or a piece of meat will be paid as finder's reward). Otherwise the finder keeps it and it is up to him whether or not he ever returns it. If a stolen article is sold, the buyer becomes the owner, while the person stolen from has to look to the thief for compensation. Even up to 30-40 years ago ivory that was found was heedlessly left lying. Then the Masai learned to appreciate its value from the caravans coming from the coast, and it became customary that, of the two tusks of an elephant that was found, one belongs to the finder, the other belongs to the members of his lineage living in the vicinity and known to the finder. The division among [439] the latter takes place through the exchange of the tusk for livestock 437 with an ivory buyer. Among themselves the /213/ Masai barter 438 only livestock for livestock. A small cow is paid for with a fat ox [435] for slaughter. In former times, before the rinderpest, when the people still had huge cattle herds but few donkeys, a donkey cost two small cows, whereas now, since the ratio has changed, it is paid for with five goats. A fat goat or a sheep is bought for a male 439 calf two to three months old. In trade with caravans, etc., people regard as trade articles, besides livestock, especially wire of iron, brass, and copper, glass beads, such as have already been mentioned in the enumeration of the ornaments, and, more recently, here and there, also colored cloth, especially the cotton fabrics known by the Suaheli /Swahili/ names schiti, konguru, and gamti. The Masai